If Wales Went Red.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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STINNES.

Messrs. B. W. Huebsch of New York have been so enterprising as to bring out a book to tell the many who want to know, who and what is Hugo Stinnes, the German capitalist who is bulking so largely in Europe just now.

The book, written in German by Hermann Brinckmeyer, has been translated by Alfred B. Kuttner.

The great value of the work is that it gives a remarkable survey of the recent developments of German capitalism.

The author tells us that Stinnes is fifty years of age and has the appearance of a workman. "He is like a piece of coal wandering about in his own coal mines. His thick head is set upon a stocky trunk. His black hair is cut close, the face is pale and expansive, the beard is black as coal, the nose is curved and the eyes are heavily underlined . . . he walks with a slight stoop and shuffles along like a sailor."

We are further told that he "never stops working," and "has an irrestible impulse to do creative work."

He is one of the "dyed-in-the-wool industrial leaders," who "know nothing of rest, luxury, or enjoyment" and "live and toil in the simplest surroundings."

This is probably true: it is important that the proletarian movement should realise it; for it is such men whom Communism must vanquish. We cannot do that by loafing over billiard tables, or gossiping about each other in club rooms.

Stinnes has made a large fortune. "Even if he could take time for it, he would find it impossible to spend all his wealth and enjoy it." A foreman is said to have asked Stinnes why he still worked so hard; he answered: "For my children." He could not have meant that he was merely working to provide a fortune for his children: he has done that already. No; he is working to establish a position of permanent power, an industrial empire for his descendants. He is not merely working for his lifetime: he is working to maintain and extend the present capitalist conditions in the future: that makes him the more dangerous an opponent. His eldest son is a man of the same type and may prove an even greater business genius than his father, says Brinckmeyer.

On the socialisation of industry, Stinnes is said to have been widely consulted: he is quoted as saying:

"As regards the form of colectivism, you will always have to adapt yourself to previous experience. Under no circumstances must you under-estimate the importance of the individual."

Legien, the pro-war Amsterdam Second International Trade Union leader, is quoted as saying to Stinnes:

"It is a pity that we did not get to know each other, years ago: in that case, many things in the Labour movement and in industry might have turned out differently."

Legien had already proved himself a soul lost to the working class movement by that time. His remark shows clearly enough that he was of the same stuff as J. H. Thomas, J. R. Clynes, and others of the kind.

Stinnes has purchased a string of newspapers and also all the plant and factories concerned in producing them: the paper mills, printing works, etc.

At the Spa Conference.

Attending the Spa Conference on behalf of Germany, as an expert, he read his opinion from a manuscript, and referred to certain individuals as being "afflicted with the illness of victory." The chairman cautioned him to moderate his words. He replied: "I am not here for the sake of being polite."

The author points out that the industrial district of North West Germany, the Rhine-Ruhr district, produced such great industrial capitalists as Krupp, Thyssen, Kirdorf, Hamel, and Stinnes. It also produced great Socialist opponents of Capitalism: Marx, Engels, and Bebel, whilst Lassalle, who came from East Germany, reached the height of his career in the Rhine district.

Stinnes I.

The grandfather of Hugo Stinnes, Mathias Stinnes, set up in the business of transport for himself, at Muelheim on the Ruhr, in the year 1808, when only 18 years of age. He bought his first coal barge in 1810. Afterwards he bought coal mines in the Ruhr, and in 1817 he was opening an important shipping line from Cologne to Rotterdam, with a regular service of nine of his own ships. He was now building ships in his own yards. By 1820 he owned 56 coal barges, plying on the Rhine and Ruhr, and to Bonn, Coblentz, and the Dutch maritime ports. Soon his barges carried also iron, textiles, wine, grain, ores, etc. He was the first to use a steam tug on the Rhine. He called his steamers, regally, *Mathias Stinnes I, II, III*, and so on. The teamsters who had towed the barges before Mathias introduced his steamers, fired upon the steamers with mortars and small cannon, as a protest against their labour being superseded, but the protest was unavailing.

Mathias Stinnes died in 1845. His business passed first to the eldest son, Mathias, after his death, to the second son, Gustav, and after his death, to the third son, Herman Hugo. None of these men appear to have been remarkable, but Herman Hugo's second son, Hugo, is the present notorious Stinnes, born February 22nd, 1870.

It will be observed that Stinnes did not climb up from the bottom of the ladder: indeed, Brinckmeyer declares that Germany can show no industrial leader of the calibre of a trust magnate who has done so: another proof of the falsity of the adage: "There is plenty of room at the top."

Hugo Stinnes served a commercial apprenticeship in Coblentz, then studied the business of mining, above and below, by practical experience, and afterwards, still only nineteen, he attended a school of mining. He served two years in the firm of Mathias Stinnes Ltd., then started for himself as Hugo Stinnes, Ltd., at the age of 23. He also remained connected with the family mines.

Stinnes, Trust Magnate.

Beginning thus, he soon became one of the main forces in consolidating German industry. His power in this direction since the war has so greatly increased, that people now speak of the "Stinnes-isation" of Germany.

Brinckmeyer observes that, before the war, it sounded incredible to Germans that the industry of the United States should be dominated by five men: Rockefeller, Harriman, Morgan, Vanderbilt, and Gould. To-day such a domination no longer seems remarkable to the Germans:

"A dissolution of all established economic organisations, and the rapid development of absolutely new forms of organisation have taken place in Germany since the war. . . . American methods of financing, of pooling of interests, and of combinations, have already been adopted in Germany, and are undergoing further development."

This fact is of great importance: it shows that the Marxian predictions regarding the consolidation of capital are being verified. We may confidently believe that Capitalism is entering its final phases,* prior to the proletarian revolution which shall abolish it and make way for Communism.

Brinckmeyer observes:

"These companies may often be compared to the numerous links of a chain, which are under the control and direction of anyone who has the first link in his hands. The system of preferred shares, with multiple voting power, increases the possibility of exerting influences still more. At the same time, the owners, despite their comparatively small capital investment, have the determining vote in all important decisions of the company. In this way it is easily possible, under certain circumstances, for a small group to dominate affairs at will, without much outlay of capital. These methods are justified at present, on account of the danger of foreign control, due to the exchange situation. But the fact remains that it is always possible for a small group to bring a greater and greater section of industry under its control.

"Anyone who has the influence to put through a scheme of industrial control, can do so on a much larger scale than ever before. And it is open to anyone to misuse this power. Unless Germany is willing to be exposed to contingencies and surprises of a most startling nature, she will soon have to recognise the necessity of investigating and controlling this highly complicated situation."

As we have said, Stinnes is one of the main forces behind these developments. Mining, coal dealing, and water transport are the basis from which he operates. He has many branches in many countries: his ships are on the North Sea, the Baltic, Mediterranean, and Black Sea.

The Rhine-Westphalian Coal Syndicate, formed by his family in 1889, and in which he is the leading figure, now includes practically the entire Ruhr output.

In 1901 he formed the German-Luxemburg Mining and Smelting Company which, in time, absorbed a number of other companies, including the Union Company of Dortmund, and acquired an interest in the Saar-Mosel Mining Company, from which it procured coal for its Differdingen smelting plant. It is thus that he organises the German-Luxemburg Mining and Smelting Company, was also interested in the Rhine-Westphalian Company. The coal mines in this combination produced 5,000,000 tons annually, and 1,300,000 tons of coke were produced each year. Iron ore for the Dortmund works was produced by its own mines on the Ruhr and near the Sieg and Weser rivers, in Nassau and in the Hartz. The combination had a share in the Lorraine mines. It was linked up with factories on the North Sea coast. It also had mine fields in Upper Franconia and the Palatinate.

* The information supplied by our K.A.P.D. correspondent, which will appear in next week's *Dreadnought*, is of special interest in this connection.

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Using Municipal Capital.

The Rhine-Westphalian Electric Company is another Hugo Stinnes Company founded in 1898. It supplied territory extending from the Dutch border on the North, to the Ruhr Valley in the South, and included the district of Düsseldorf and Cologne. It also developed the gas and water supply, and the street car systems and small guage railways.

The shares of the Rhine-Westphalian Electric Company are held by both municipalities and individuals. Essen, Solingen, Muelheim-on-Ruhr, Gelsenkirchen, and other cities, own shares in the Company. Thus the citizens supply the capital; but do not forget that, as Brinckmeyer explains, the power may be in the hands of a few manipulators, whose actual investments are small. In this case, the manipulator is Stinnes: the municipalities and their citizens do not count.

Before the war, Hugo Stinnes, by virtue of the many directorships he holds, was in touch with every business of importance in the Rhine-Westphalia District. Through the Hugo Stinnes Shipping Company and the factories he had established there, he was also a power on the German sea-board

The Trusts Exploit Belgium.

The occupation of Belgium opened a new field of enterprise, though a temporary one, to Stinnes and other industrial magnates. In 1916, three limited companies for exploiting Belgium were formed in the Ruhr: the Industrial Company, the Transport Company, and the Mining Company. Those interested were Krupps, the Phœnix, the Gute Hoffnung Smelter's Company, and the German-Luxemburg Mining and Smelting Company, which, of course, means Stinnes. These companies secured the exclusive right to purchase the Belgian coal and metal mines; they were specially favoured in regard to the purchase and management of Belgian factories, and they ran the Belgian gas, water, and electric works.

During the war, the German industrial magnates greatly increased their grip on German industry. Albert Ballin said:

"The Hamburg-America Line intends to consolidate its interests more definitely and completely than hitherto with the capitalistic groups of our key industries and our banking system."

Stinnes established close connections with this Hamburg-America Line, also with the North German Lloyd Line. He became interested in the Woermann Line and the German East African Line. In 1917 he formed the Stinnes Ocean Navigation and Trading Company.

Since 1918, Stinnes has been interested in the German-American Petroleum Company of Hamburg. He bought the Hamburg City Hall Hotel and the Hotel Harburger Hof for his Boards of Directors and their staffs. His operations, in fact, are like those of a great Government department. He added Mercantile firms in Koenigsburg and Bremerhaven and Flensburg to his combine. In East Germany he secured vast lands and forests to provide him with mining timber. He also acquired an interest in the Rhine lignite deposits.

Allied Annexations Accelerate Trustification.

Then came Germany's defeat in the war, and the Revolution. The shaking of the foundations of German industry caused Ballin, of the Hamburg-America Line to retire in despair. Stinnes remained unruffled. He lost all his properties in the South West; in Luxemburg, Lorraine, and the Saar. Nevertheless, the money he received from the French company which bought out the Stinnes Trust in Luxemburg and Lorraine placed capital at his disposal with which to conquer new fields. Moreover, since business is business, he made an agreement with the French company, assuring to him for thirty years some of the ore needed for his smelting works. He acquired new manufacturing plants east of the Rhine, to replace those he had lost, buying up several German competitors. One of the most important of these was Kirdorf's Gelsenkirchen Mining Company, which, beside its coal and ore mines, included blast furnaces, steel works, wire factories, and similar plants; it was distinguished for its gigantic buildings and modern methods. This company lost, by the war, all its enterprises save mining. Stinnes had lost mines. From mutual self-interest, the two came together in the Rhine-Elbe Union by an agreement to last eighty years.

Another important consolidation was that between the Stinnes Trust and the Bochum Mining and Steel Company, employing over 18,000 workers. A Berlin banker, by Stock Exchange manipulations, had acquired a majority interest in the Company and had sent the shares up to a fantastic price, at which the Stinnes group acquired them.

Still more important was the consolidation, in 1920, of Stinnes and the Siemens Telegraph and Electric Cable Construction Company, which had built and installed the entire Russian telegraph system. The Schuckert Company was also consolidated with the Siemens Company. A business panic in 1920 removed most of the other electrical competitors, or brought them into the combine. The combination is called the Siemens-Rhine-Elbe-Schuckert Union. This oganisation regulates the finances of all the related companies and works out plans for the joint administration; but the intention is to keep the management and administration of each member indepedent. The Compay has 200,000 employees. The combination is to last till the year 2000. It has already roped in copper, brass, aluminium, and automobile plants.

The Stinnes Trust has also acquired the monopoly of cellulose manufacture in East Prussia.

The Stinnes Transport and Overseas Trading Company has a Charter enabling it to build shipping, and to market every kind of commodity. Since the Stinnes method is to control every stage in the production of the commodities he handles, a dazzling vista is suggested bp these large trading proposals, which means, in very truth, "the Stinnes-isation of Germany."

Having founded the Hamburg Travellers' Company in connection with his shipping lines, he has already gone into the hotel business, and is unifying steamer cabins, railway accomodation and health resorts into his own system. He is turning his attention at present to the route from the North Sea to the Mediterranean.

German Trust versus American.

It should be noticed that the development of the German Trust is what is called "vertical," whilst that of the American Trust is called "horizontal." The difference is that whilst the American Trust buys up and consolidates all the enterprises dealing with a given commodity or service (for instance, oil, or railways, or banking), the German Trust buys up enterprises concerned in the successive stages of production, thus securing for each branch of production, both the sources of its supply and the market for its disposal.

Rosa Luxemburg's Contention.

The difference is vitally important, and bears out Rosa Luxemburg's contention that Germany would be the first country to accomplish the final overthrow of Capitalism.

Why?

The reason is that the German method is tending most directly towards the Sovietisation of industry.

American capitalist development is notable for its highwayman character. It has given birth to the creation of Trust monopolies, which enable the directors of the Trusts to charge what they please for the commodities (subject, where it exists, to foreign compeition working directly and indirectly), and to place what conditions they choose upon the sale. Efficient and cheap production, which might be secured through large-scale operations and an abundant supply of capital, are entirely secondary to the principal object: the speedy enrichment of the proprietors, who have a clear field of exploitation once they have eliminated their competitors. American Trusts have been able to develop thus, because America has an enormous home market, which is preserved for American capitalism by tariff walls, and because America has enormous sources of raw material.

To German industry, efficiency and cheapness were essential to development, because Germany had neither a population large enough to absorb her industrial products, nor large sources of raw materials to export.

To make fortunes, the German industrialists were obliged to supply cheap goods and well-made goods in large quantities. Hence their Trusts developed, so that they might secure control of every stage of production, in order that they might obtain sources of supply without paying others people's profits, and without submitting to delay and shortage, and that they might insure, by directly controlling it, that the article supplied should be of the quality desired.

This co-ordination in "vertical Trusts," in so far as it makes for economy of labour and materials, and the production of high class goods, and especially in so far as it links up the various inter-dependent branches of industry in a convenient system, is paving the way for the proletarian revolution. A workers' committee organisation within the Stinnes Trust could step in at a moment's notice and administer the main needs of the districts over which the Trust operates, without much difficulty. It goes without saying, that it could paralyse the social organism.

Meanwhile the oppressive Versailles Treaty has accelerated the Trustification of Germany: capitalist Germany must produce still more, still better, still cheaper goods than before, in order to hold her own, robbed of raw material bearing territory, and forced to pay the heavy war indemnities.

German ingenuity is displaying itself, in the substitution of one material for another. The scarcity of coal, for which all the factories are fighting, in spite of Govenment supervision, has led to the increased use of lignite and petroleum. New methods of chemical production are daily being discovered. New industrial ocmbinations —new vertical Trusts result.

Says Brinckmeyer:

"There are few isolated factories left. In some branches of industry, isolated industries have entirely disappeared. German national industry is gradually becoming a multi-cellular, but unified industrial body. The art of management is becoming an exact science, and the whole process of production is becoming an organised cycle under the direction of a single mind."

Stinnes Compels German Unity.

The Stinnes Trust, which grew up in the Rhine-Westphalia district, now extends over the whole of Germany, including Berlin and the industrial cities of Bavaria. At the time of the consolidation with the Siemens-Schuckert Company, the combined directorate issued a statement to the effect that the consolidation would knit together Bavaria and Berlin with the Rhineland and Westphalia, and so counteract the political separatist tendencies which begun to show themselves after the war defeat and the Revolution

The workers in the mines echoed this statement of their masters by a resolution, passed at a conference in 1920, that they would join with the workers on rail and waterways to cut oc coal from any part of the country threatening to secede from Germany.

Stinnes In Austria.

Austria, before the war, was economically dependent on Germany. Nevertheless, Austria has considerable largely untapped sources of wealth: coal, oil, Kaolin or porcelain-earth which could supply a porcelain industry, forests which could support a paper-making industry; water-power which could sustain an electrical industry to supply the mechanical energy for industry and transport.

Stinnes has seen this, and has commenced operations accordingly. In 1921 his Trust acquired the Austrian Alpine Mining Company by buying up the stock. This company owns the Styrian mining deposits, which supplied Italy and the Balkans with iron and steel before the war. A Viennese banker bought up the company at the close of the war and sold it to an Italian syndicate at an enormous profit; but the Italians could not procure the coke for refining the ore, because trade barriers largely excluded coke from Czecho-Slovakia, and the German supply was intermittent. Moreover, workers

(*Continued on page* 3)

CHOOSE OF TWO LOVES.

By L. A. Motler.

"That is rather a nice girl you were speaking to," remarked Barry, winking at me. "Who is she?"

"Friend of mine," I answered.

"Of course," he remarked pleasantly. "Anyone can see that. How much gone on her are you?"

One has to forgive friends a good deal, in many respects. Unless you live on a desert island, you cannot always keep yourself to yourself, or your friends of the other sex, either. A little latitude has to be allowed. And after all, a girl friend is nothing to be uneasy about.

"Well,," I made reply, "I don't know the exact extent of my feelings as yet. I leave that to develop."

"I should think she's nice enough for any one to be fond of. If she wasn't yours, I wouldn't mind fancying her myself." Barry said this, with a sly dig in the direction of my ribs.

"You can fancy her as much as you like," I answered back. "She is by no means my property. You Socialists seem to be rational in many matters regarding property, but I notice you talk of 'my girl' and 'my wife' in much the same proprietorial tone as the Henriest of Henry Dubbs."

"Oh, come," he put in. "You don't suppose I'd care for a wife who went gadding about? Why I might as well go with the street girls as get married to a woman who had other chaps besides me."

"That is rather stretching the point," I answered. "Freedom of love and promiscuity are not the same thing."

"I can't say I see it," said Barry, gulping down his coffee.

I lit a cigarette. Then:

"It's like this," I remarked, puffing slowly, "I have had a good spate of experience in the movement, and I am judging from the general to the particular. I have found that there is still a strong streak of the old Adam in the most enthusiastic Socialist who is prepared to generously socialise everything. You have only to treat his wife to a cup of coffee, and he wants to know all about it."

"That's true, perhaps," Barry agreed, "in a few cases; but I don't reckon most of us would be as jealous of a cup of coffee as all that."

"It's a fact, nevertheless," I replied. "And for a good reason. I have stood a cup of coffee myself. But to put something more in your experience, what about the Blenkins? Half the girls at the Club pretend to be shocked at Blenkin, because he openly goes out with another girl when the Club shuts, and his wife is living with her mother."

"Well," Barry reminded me, "you must remember that we haven't got Socialism yet. So the woman is still dependent on the man. It isn't as if she could do what she liked. And so long as she sticks to a man, he ought to keep her."

"Most women can earn their living nowadays," I said. "So they can be dependent on their own efforts, and so be more free to choose whom they love."

"You forget about the children."

"They don't need to have children, unless, of course, they come to some agreement about keeping them, and are able to do so," I made answer. "After all, the present state of things is hardly conducive to rearing healthy children."

"I don't see that," Barry said. "You know as well as I do that there are a good many comrades who have children, and they seem to be doing all right."

"Precisely," I replied. "These comrades are mostly people who do no real work for the movement. It is pretty obvious that a couple who have children cannot very well attend to two things at once. But, of course, all these things are a matter of arrangement between the couple concerned. For my part, I believe something like the lines William Morris wrote:—

"'Let dead hearts tarry and trade and marry
And, trembling, nurse their dreams of mirth,
Whilst we, the living, our lives are giving
To bring the bright new world to birth.'

That does not express my feelings exactly, but it goes as near as can be."

"But I notice you go about with girls pretty thick."

"Look here," I said. "Do you take me for a marble image, or a stained glass angel? I have my feelings, the same as other men, and I don't see why I should repress them; apart from the fact that if I did they would break out somewhere. All the same, I don't run after every skirt I see. I may say, with all due modesty, that I do as much as I can for the movement. I can do that and retain my girl friends."

He threw away his cigarette, and opening his case, offered it to me. I declined, so he lit up again.

"You were remarking that you believed a woman—or a man, for that matter—should have as many loves as they like. What about disease?"

"When I said that," I hastened to reply, "I did not mean that one should take as many as he could. We have free libraries, but you don't see queues of people outside them. People are built differently. Some are monagamistic, others are not. Some prefer to know a few before settling on one, others can't somehow get quite settled. More——"

"And disease?" he put in.

"When we know as much about sexual diseases as we do about, say, the 'flu, then we can take precautions. I always reckon a Socialist to know as much about that as anything else."

"You seem to be quite callous about it," remarked Barry. "What I'd like to know is, where loves comes in. All you seem concerned about is having a good time and knowing as many girls as you can."

"That is hardly the point," I told him. "Real love is the complete understanding between two people, which continues to exist after the purely sexual attraction lessens. Love at first sight, as like as not, is mostly passion, a desire to possess. You may marry a girl, thinking you love her, then later you find out that you merely desired to possess her. If you get married legally, you will find it hard to part without a great deal of unpleasantness."

"You don't seem to believe in legal marriage, then? If all men were like you, we'd find girls being left in the lurch. A pretty state of things!"

"You seem to assume that girls are helpless and ignorant," I said. "But they are learning more how to look after themselves, every day. Besides, a man like me would come to a complete understanding with the girl. It must be said, however, that it isn't at all possible for a person to say he can stick to one love. Feelings are not always within control. And so long as two people are happy, it doesn't matter whether their happiness lasts a day, or years. Of course any sensible person would strive to keep his happiness for as long as he could, but beyond that, nothing can be done. He can only endeavour to act to the words of Swinburne:

"'Ah sweet, albeit no love be sweet enough,
Choose of two loves and cleave unto the best,'"

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STINNES.—*Continued from page 2.*

could not be got for the mines, because the Italian miners would no longer work for Austrian crowns, owing to their fall in value, and the syndicate could not afford to pay them in Italian money.

Now that Stinnes has acquired the Styrian mine, the iron is manufactured in Austria, and all the Austrian iron industries benefit.

British capitalism was not pleased by the news that Stinnes had secured the Styrian iron mine, the greatest in Europe, and Stinnes was even criticised by some people in Germany and Austria, because it was feared that British hostility would be increased. Nevertheless, it was recognised that his action might help to revive Austrian industry.

A Viennese journalist in an open letter to Stinnes said:

"The Austrian Press is again suddenly favourable to you. This is true even of the Social-Democratic papers, which have recently swung back to Capitalism."

The Social Democrats, instead of working for the break-down of Capitalism, are hoping blindly for its restoration.

Brinckmeyer does not mention that Stinnes is buying up properties further afield than Austria. He is attempting to permeate France.

Stinnes, Government, and Socialisation.

During the war, the great British capitalist interests took a more direct part in managing the affairs of Government than ever before: the same thing happened in Germany and, still continues. A State Economic Council has been created, on which representatievs of the employers in every occupation are represented. Stinnes is of course, a member of this Council. The socialisation of industry, and especially of the mines, has been much discussed in Germany, and a "Committee of Understanding," consisting of employeers and worpers' representatives, was set up, which proceeded to Essen in the heart of the coal mining district, to investigate. Stinnes, on behalf of the "experts," drew up a memorandum for the committee. This memorandum proposed:—

(1) to trustify industry "vertically," and then to link it up "horizontally" (as we have previously described);

(2) to create industrial provinces, dividing the economic field, not according to geographical and political relations, but on practical economic lines. Within each district there would be a combination of all branches of industry and a joint regulation of power, raw material, output, and transport.

The scheme of organisation is precisely that towards which Stinnes is striving through his own Trust. He recommended that the Government should organise such co-ordination; but he did not contemplate the abolition of Capitalism: he proposed, as a palliation of present injustices, the holding of shares by employees in the industry.

AMERICAN ASBESTOS CONCESSIONS IN THE URALS.

The Ural Asbestos mining concession draft case to an American pharmaceutical syndicate was submitted for approval to the Supreme Council of Public Economy, and contains the following conditions:—

The concession period is to be 20 years.

The company must start work within four months of the confirmation of the concession.

The first year's minimum output shall be 80,000 poods; the second year's, 100,000 poods; third year's, 120,000 poods; fourth year's, 140,000 poods, and subsequent years' minimum, 160,000 poods.

Immediately upon possessing the asbestos mines, the American company assumes all obligations for maintaining the equipment, and paying the workers their wages according to the Russian Labour legislation for concessionaires.

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IRELAND.

Only the tiny majority of 7 saved the Downing Street Treaty from being rejected by Dail Eireann. Only one vote stopped the Dail from putting de Valera back in the Presidential office to work against the Treaty. Certainly the Treaty is not the popular document in Ireland its supporters would like it to be. Only the fear of war in its most cruel and devastating form; war waged by a stronger Power that would literally wipe out the greater part of the Irish people, has induced even this small majority.

What a victory for Lloyd George's diplomacy! What a victory for British Capitalist Imperialism!

But victory is not registered yet. Arthur Griffith, who has now succeeded de Valera as President, stated in the Dail on January 10, on behalf of the supporters of the Treaty, that when his party had formed a government, it proposed to arrange for a plebiscite, or a General Election.

No one knows whether the plebiscite or the General Election will give a majority for or against the supporters of the Treaty.

No one knows yet how the Treaty will be interpreted by the British Government; by the Dublin Castle Party, by the Unionist elements in the British Army, by the Ulster Unionists. Until all these factors have shown their policy in action, the fate of the Treaty remains undecided.

Moreover, the fate of the Treaty remains undecided until the policy of its Republican opponents takes shape in action. No one knows yet, for they have not been tested in action, whether the Republic opponents of the Treaty, outside the Dail, are prepared to take a stronger line than those inside. No one knows whether they are prepared to fight the Treaty in action—whether they are prepared to fight it with or without provocation and breach of faith from the Unionists and whether the Unionists will offer any flagrant provocation or breach of faith. The situation is full of possibilities, and it is important to notice that military reinforcements are pouring into Belfast, "*following* "*strong representation*" *of the Government of Northern Ireland to the Imperialist Government.* The troops which are to be withdrawn from Nationalist Ireland appear to be bound for Ulster. Why? Remember the pre-war Curragh incident, when the Army's Imperialists showed themselves ready to defy Parliament and the Government, in support of the Ulster Unionists.

A member of Dail Eireann, Mr. O'Buckley, declared that the Irish people had been stampeded into support of the Treaty by the "rotten" Press of Ireland. It is curious that Sinn Fein has allowed the supply of daily papers to be monopolised by interests opposed to Sinn Fein. Only since the Treaty split has a daily paper been published by the Brugha-Markievicz party.

De Valera has explained what was already apparent ,that he occupies a mid-way position between the two elements in Sinn Fein, which are represented on the one hand by Brugha, who was a leader of the Irish Volunteers, and Griffith, who supports the Treaty.

The de Valera Document which was put forward as an alternative to the Downing Street Treaty does not seem to us to represent a policy marked by tactical ability. It is true that his alternative might avoid the oath of allegiance to King George and the British Government; but it is in most essentials exceedingly like the Treaty.

It contains too many of the Treaty's compromises to meet enthusiastic acceptance in Ireland.

It seems to us that, to be successful, it was necessary for de Valera to stand firm for the Republic: the force which can be united behind an alternative compromise is not likely to be united and determined enough to fight the original compromise, we believe.

De Valera's tactical moves have suffered from the same infirmity it seems to us: he has been too vacillating, too undecided. Document 2 became Document 3, and he wished Document 2 not to be disclosed—a sign of weakness. He resigned from the Presidency, then stood for re-election, "on the request of his followers," and at the same time signified his intention to retire into private life.

One cannot help feeling that he will bungle the decisive moment to act when the opportunity for action comes.

Having resigned from office and thus ostensibly given control of the Sinn Fein military forces, finance and machinery into the hands of the Treaty-ists, has he kept any secret reins of power? Apparently there is to be a struggle for the finances; for whilst de Valera put in a plea that they must not be used for the so-called Free State, Collins suggested that they should be tied up in trust and returned to those who subscribed them; thus putting them out of reach of the Republicans.

The only voice raised in the Dail for the ideals of the 1916 Republic, the Republic of Easter Week, which made the possibility of all that has happened in Ireland since, of Dail Eireann itself and even of the Free State Treaty, was that of Constance Markievicz. De Valera said that he was the only one left of the leaders of 1916. This was a surprising instance of sex egotism, for Constance Markievicz precedes him in honour; she was one of the sixteen signatories to the proclamation of the 1916 Republic—the only survivor of the sixteen who were sentenced to death.

Though a woman, she bore arms and fought as an officer in the 1916 Rebellion. She alone, in the Dail, raises any echo of the ideals of Connolly and Pearse. On January 3rd, when the Downing Street Treaty was under discussion, she alone repeated the 1916 slogans, saying that she stood for the Workers' Republic and the Co-operative Commonwealth; that she stood by the people and for the people, believing that the rights of the people should come before the rights of proprty, and that her idea of the Republic is a Co-operative Commonwealth.

The Dail represents the bourgeois parties: the workers are practically unrepresented there. With the advent to power of Arthur Griffith. Capitalism secures a henchman who can be counted on to fight the workers. He was opposed to the workers in the historic Dublin Lock-Out, when Connolly and Larkin fought together. A still greater industrial struggle is now looming ahead in Ireland.

The employers had given notice to end all Labour agreements on January 1st; but the notices have now been postponed till January the 16th, in order that the Free State may be constituted before the battle between Irish Capital and Labour is joined.

The Shipping employers announced a wages reduction of 2s. a day, but have postponed the question till January 16th, because the Transport Workers' Union showed a disposition to resist, the matter was postponed till January 16.

The Irish railway employers desired to enforce longer hours and lower wages, which were to take effect under the Carrigan Award on January 2nd. The British National Union of Railwaymen, to which the Irish workers belong, would doubtless have taken this tamely, but the Irish workers are strongly organised in an unofficial all-grades movement, which threatened a strike. Therefore the Labour Ministry of Dail Eireann intervened and the struggle is put off till January 16th.

The *Irish Times*, referring to the impending Labour crisis, says:—

> "*An Irish provisional Government will come promptly into office. . . . In that event the nation, through its Provisional Government, will have what it never had before—a powerful voice in the settlement of an Irish railway crisis. We assume that whatever may happen in the interval, the Provisional Government will not tolerate a general strike. It will demand a settlement, with due regard for the legitimate interests of the companies and of their servants; but it will put in the fore-front—happy and momentous innovation!—the legitimate interests of the Irish people. . . .*
>
> "*We do not know how the present dispute will be settled; but we do know the general principles which any Irish Government that understands its business and respects its mandate will impose on the administration of the Irish railways. . . .*
>
> "*In the near future the conditions of service on the Irish railways must be adjusted to the needs of a small and still undeveloped State. In this imperfect world, men cannot eat their cake and have it. Ireland cannot make a success of self-government unless all her sons are prepared to pay for the boon—if it is to be a boon—with the toil of their hands and brains and with some sacrifice of ease and leisure. The new Ireland will expect much from the railway companies and something also from their servants. The national railway system must be reconstituted on a basis of more work, or of less wages; there is no other way.*"

That puts the position squarely. The Irish workers need expect no quarter from the Irish employers. There will be strenuous attempts to induce Irish workers to accept evil conditions, in order to give the capitalist industries of the Irish Free State an opportunity to become prosperous. If the workers make the sacrifices demanded of them they will merely postpone for a little the inevitable struggle.

The Irish Trade Union officials, as represented by the organ of the Transport and General Workers' Federation, the *Voice of Labour*, are endeavouring to keep clear of the Treaty controversy, declaring that the position of Labour will be identical under a Free State or a Republic. The *Voice* actually publishes an article written many years ago by James Connolly, in which the following passage occurs:—

> "Since the abandonment of the unfortunate insurrectionism of the early Socialists, whose hopes were exclusively concentrated on the eventual triumph of an uprising and barricade struggle, modern Socialism, relying on the slower but surer method of the ballot-box, has directed the attention of its partisans towards the peaceful conquest of the forces of government in the interest of the revolutionary ideal."

That reads rather curiously, with Connolly lying under the sod for his part in the Easter Week Rebellion.

The *Voice* also publishes a statement sent by James Larkin from prison in the United States, repudiating the Treaty and all association with the British Empire, and declaring for a Workers' Republic.

The *Voice* declares that Larkin's statement does not represent the views of the Irish Transport Workers' Union, and both the Union and the *Voice* dissociate themselves from the charges which Larkin makes against the Ratificationists. The *Voice* says, out of 1,000 Union branches and Councils in Ireland, "not more than six were foolish enough and lacking enough in class-consciousness to indulge in resolution passing."

These six, representing less than 5,000 workers, declared for the Treaty.

It seems that Connolly's policy has no successor in office in the Transport Workers' Union except James Larkin, in prison across the Atlantic.

Connolly's son is in the numerically small Communist Party which has declared against the Treaty and for the Workers' Republic.

We should be with them in that policy, were we over there.

So the situation in Ireland simmers.

DREADNOUGHT "AT HOME."

A very successful "At Home" was held at Aldgate East Chambers on Sunday, January 8th Speeches were delivered by Comrades Rogers, Rosenbloom, Pankhurst, Smyth. Collection, literature sales and donations amounted to £6 4s. 8½d. A similar "At Home" will be held in February and each month after, instead of the monthly office "At Home."

REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS.

By Peter Kropotkin.

(Continued from last week.)

VI.

The people have tried, at different times, to become an influence in the State, to control it, to be served by it. They have never succeeded. It always ended in the abandonment of this mechanism if hierarchy and laws to others han the people: to the sovereign after the revolution of the sixteenth century; to the bourgeois after those of the seventeenth, in England, and the eighteenth in France.

The middle classes, on the contrary, are absolutely identified with the rights of the State. It is the State that gives it its power. It is the State that gives it that unity of thought which strikes us at every moment.

In practice, a Ferry may detest a Clemenceau; a Flocquet a Freycinet; a Ferry may meditate schemes to snatch the presidency from Grevy or Carnot; the Pope and his clergy may hate the whole set and cut the ground from under their feet; the Boulangist may include in his hatred the clergy, the Pope, Ferry and Clemenceau. All this may be, and is. But something superior to these enmities unites all, from the rattle-brain of the Boulevards to the honeyed Carnot; from the minister to the last teacher in secular or religious schools. This is the worship of authority.

They cannot conceive society without a strong and acknowledged government. Without centralisation, without a hierarchy radiating from Paris or Berlin, as far as the most remote gamekeeper, and ruling the most distant hamlet by orders from the capital, they would think everything was dropping to pieces. Without a code—the creation alike of the Montagnards of the Convention and of the princes of the Empire—they can see nothing but assassins, incendiaries, cut-throats in the streets. Without property guaranteed by the code, they see nothing but deserted fields and ruined cities. Without an army, brutalised to the point of blindly obeying its officers, they imagine the country the prey of invaders; and without judges, surrounded with the the respect of the *corpus dei*, the stay of the middle ages, they perceive only the war of each against all. The minister and the Pope, the game-keeper and the schoolmaster are absolutely agreed on these points, and it is this which makes their common power.

They do not in the least ignore the perpetual robbery of civil and military officials; but it matters little, they say, these are only personal accidents, and so long as ministers exist, the stock exchange and the country will not be in danger. They know that elections are managed with money, glasses of beer, and free festivities, and that in Parliament, votes are bought by places and concessions of plunder. What matters?

The law passed by the chosen of the people will be treated by them as sacred. They will elude it, they will violate it if it galls them, but they will make impassioned speeches of its "divine character."

The chief of the executive power and the chief of the opposition can mutually insult each other in Parliament, but, the battle of words over, they surround each other with respect; they are two chiefs, two necessary functionaries in the State. And if the public prosecutor and the advocate insult each other in the presence of the accused, and, in moderate language, treat each other as liars and cheats, when the speeches are over they shake hands and compliment each other on their exciting perorations. This is not hypocrisy, it is business.

In the bottom of his heart, the prosecutor admires the advocate; they see in each other something superior to their personalities: two functionaries, two representatives of Justice, of Government, of the State. All their education has prepared them for these views which permit the stifling of their humane sentiments under legal formulas. The people will never reach this perfection, and it were better they should never wish to try.

A common adoration, a common worship, unites all the middle classes, all the exploiters. The chief of the State and the leader of the opposition, the Pope and bourgeois atheist adore equally the same god, and this god of authority resides in the inmost recesses of their brain. This is why they remain united, in spite of their differences. The head of the State does not separate himself from the leader of the opposition, nor the prosecutor from the counsel, until the one puts into doubt the institution of Parliament, or the other treats the tribunal as a true Nihilist would; that is to say, to deny its right of existence. Then, but then only, are they implacable. And if the bourgeois throughout Europe have so cordially hated the workmen of the Commune of Paris, it is because they believed they saw in them true revolutionists, ready to throw overboard the State, property, and representative government.

It is easy to understand what a power this common worship of government gives to the bourgeoisie. Although it may be decayed in three-quarters of its representatives, yet it has a good quarter of the persons who hold firmly the flag of State. Second only to business, they address themselves to the task, as well by religion as by desire for power, and work without ceasing to affirm and propagate this worship. Quite an immense literature: all the schools, without exception, all the Press, are at their service, and in their youth, above all, they work without relapse to combat all attempts to break up all conception of State Legality. And when trouble arises, all—the feeble as well as the strong—rally to this flag. They understand also how absurd it would be to place the revolution under this flag; to try to lead the people against all tradition to accept this same principle, which is that of domination and exploitation. Authority is their flag, and so long as the people have not another flag which sha'l be the expression of its tendencies to Anarchist Communism, opposed to laws and State-craft—anti-Imperial, in a word—we shall be compelled to alow ourselves to be dominated by others.

It is here, above all, that the revolutionist should have boldness of thought. He ought to have audacity to break away from the universal Imperial tradition; he needs the courage to tell himself that the people must elaborate all organisation of communities upon bases of real justice, such as the comprehension of common popular rights.

AN ESPERANTO PRIMER.—Lesson VIII.

Here is a Table of 45 correlative words; these words, if a column be read downwards, all *begin* with the same letter, and if read horizontally, all *end* with the same letter; this is an aid to memory, as the meaning corresponds to the beginning and end of each word, as will be seen.

It may be well, after inserting the words in their places in the Vocabulary, to cut out the Table and paste it up for quick reference.

TABLE OF CORRELATIVE WORDS.

	Indefinite.	Distributive or Collective.	Interrogative and Relative.	Negative.	Demonstrative.
Quality. Kind of (Adjectival).	IA. some kind of . . any kind of . . . some or any . .	ĈIA every kind of . . . each, every, any sort of . .	KIA what kind of . . ? of what kind . . .? what a . . .?	NENIA no kind of . . ., no such . . ., of no kind, not any kind of . . .	TIA such kind of . . ., such a . . ., of that kind .
Motive. Reason for. (Adverbial).	IAL for some or any reason or cause.	ĈIAL for every reason, for all reasons.	KIAL for what reason? why? wherefore?	NENIAL for no reason, for no cause.	TIAL for that reason, there therefore.
Time. (Adverbial).	IAM at some time, any time, ever, once.	ĈIAM always, every time, for ever, at any time.	KIAM at what time? when? when.	NENIAM never, at no time.	TIAM at that time, at such time, then.
Place. (Adverbial).	IE in some, or any, place, somewhere, anywhere.	ĈIE everywhere, in every place.	KIE where? in what place?	NENIE nowhere, in no place.	TIE in that place, there, yonder.
Manner. (Adverbial).	IEL somehow, in some way.	ĈIEL in every way, all ways.	KIEL how? in what way? such as.	NENIEL in no way, no how, not at all.	TIEL in that manner,, thus, so.
Possession. (Pronominal).	IES someone's, anyone's.	ĈIES everyone's, each one's.	KIES whose?	NENIES nobody's, no one's.	TIES that one's, such a one's.
Thing. (Not specified).	IO something, anything.	ĈIO everything, all.	KIO what thing? which?	NENIO nothing, not any.	TIO that . . ., that thing.
Quantity. (Adverbial).	IOM some, a little, any.	ĈIOM all, the whole of . . .	KIOM how much? how many?	MENIOM none, none at all.	TIOM that quantity, so many, that much.
Individuality. (Person or thing).	IU some one, anyone.	ĈIU each, each one (*ĉiuj*, all, everyone).	KIU who? which? which one?	NENIU nobody, no one.	TIU that one, the former.

Exercise.

Ia pano estas pli bona ol nenia.
Ĉia domo estas ies. Tio estas mia.
Kial vi ne venis kiam mi deziris?
Ili neniam parolis se (*if*) ŝi estas tie.
Iel ni ĉiam vin vidas tie.

Ĉiuj amas pomojn, sed ĉiu ĝin ne havas.
Kiu diris ke mi ne estis tie?
Kiom kostas tio? Kvardek ŝilingoj.
Ties ŝafoj estas pli grandaj ol miaj.
Cu vi ne donos iom al mi?

Kiel vi venos tie ĉi (*here*)? Ciel.
Kiam vi venos? Al la dua, morgaŭ.
Cu tio ĉi (*this*) domo estas nenies?

Note.—Tio means *that* or *that one*, but with ĉi it means *this* or *this one*. Tie means *there*,

:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

The W.I.I.U. & the R.T.U.I.

SERIOUS ALLEGATION BY NAT WATKINS.

The allegations made by Nat Watkins, Secretary of the British Bureau of the Red Trade Union International, are so seriously scurrilous that we should hesitate to insert his letter, without making direct inquiries in Moscow, were it not that, in his official capacity, Watkins is probably repeating the allegations elsewhere, and it is but fair that the opportunity for an answer to them should be given. Moreover, it will probably take some time to get a reply from Moscow.

The reply of W. Barr seems to be conclusive, as had the Watkins version been correct, we do not think the delegate in question would have been allowed to attend the R.T.U.I. Congress in any capacity, nor do we think he would have returned in company with other reputable delegates, and on good terms with them, as we happen to know he did.

We are sending the correspondence to Moscow.

To the Editor of the *Workers' Dreadnought*:

DEAR COMRADE,—

In your review column of the issue of November 26, I notice that the W.I.I.U. delegate to the First Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions has published his report in pamphlet form, and submitted the same to be reviewed and commented upon through the columns of your valuable paper.

The choice morsels selected and commented upon are not only incorrect but intentionally misleading.

Comrade B., the accredited delegate of this organisation called the Workers' International Industrial Union, which is neither International nor Industrial, and its revolutionary activities are strictly confined to the flippant use of revolutionary phrases, whilst the demonstrative side of the organisational work is counter-revolutionary and reactionary, some of its officials, during the coal strike of October 1919, were conspicuous through refusing to tender their notice, as decided by a majority vote, as a result of which their names were inscribed in large letters on pitheads and pit framings, and, had they dared, they would have undertaken blacklegging and "scab" work. (What revolutionaries, eh!)

This comrade produced his credentials with the report of his organisation, the credentials specifying accordance with the report, with no power to deviate from the beaten track of W.I.I. Unionism.

In his report, Comrade B. states that neither he nor the American delegate were allowed to speak; this is a falsehood.

Comrade B., being included in the minority section of the British delegation, was entitled to address the Congress upon every Thesis presented, having fifteen minutes to state his case, with an additional fifteen minutes to reply. This comrade, during the sessions, which occupied the first five days, made no application for the floor; only on one occasion was his name sent forward, this time, to speak upon the question of "working within the Trade Union movement." Over sixty speakers asked for the floor upon this important question, and all speakers were called to speak in the order their names were sent in. After thirty speeches were delivered, a resolution was adopted to close the debate, and the delegate of this organisation, and thirty others, were cut out, it being considered inadvisable to continue the debate, as repetition was prevalent to a very large degree.

With reference to the American delegate of this organisation, the activities of this comrade in the past were so questionable, that the International credential committee referred his case to an investigation committee, before whom certain charges were placed, one of which I will quote. A typewritten statement put forward by W. Haywood late General Secretary of the I.W.W. in America, stating that this delegate's integrity could not be vouched for by the American delegation, for this reason: "During the trial of 119 members of the I.W.W. in Chicago, this man sat side by side with the prosecuting counsel, exchanging notes and indulging in frequent conversations; he was also instrumental in procuring for the prosecution the necessary pamphlets required to prove the case against them; this conduct continued for ten weeks. After the sentence was pronounced he published in their weekly paper an article stating that these violent revolutionaries were justly punished."

As diverse as the American Delegation were upon the question of "tactics" and view-points generally, they were unanimous in protesting against the admission of this delegate into delegatory sessions or congress.

Another amusing passage commented upon in your review is, "that the delegate from the American Federation of Labour had no mandate, neither was he a representative from that body."

Being elected to the International Credential Committee, I am in a position to state that no comrade claimed to represent that body, but several delegates were supplied with genuine credentials from some craft unions that were affiliated to the A.F.L.

The collection of quotations commented upon in your review are inaccurate and misleading statements.

Therefore we courteously request you to give full publicity to the above corrections and assist us in conveying to the masses the truth appertaining to this matter.

Yours fraternally,
Nat. Watkins.

(*Secretary, British Bureau, Red International of Labour Unions.*)

To the Editor of the *Workers' Dreadnought*:

DEAR COMRADE,—

With reference to the letter sent to you by N. Watkins, Nat. Sec. B.B.R.T.U.I..

In the first place, we should like to point out that Watkins is mistaken when he says that we submitted our report for review. You will recollect that we craved no such favour, being anxious only that you should have a correct rendition of the congress, differing essentially from the reports of the self-appointed "representatives" of the B.B.R.T.U.I.

Mr. Watkins claims that we are not an industrial organisation, nor are we an international one.

We should like to point out that the basis of our organisation *is* industrial, that is, that we organise according to industry, the smallest unit being known as "plant groups," which, in turn, along with the recruiting locals, carry on the work in the different districts.

And we are not international? The last time Watkins was in Edinburgh, whilst in conversation with myself and another two comrades of the W.I.I.U., he asserted that the delegate of the *American* W.I.I.U., while in Moscow, wanted the floor to advertise the W.I.I.U. constitution (which, of course, Watkins did not want advertised—it being much too sound for him). Which goes to prove that we *are* international, whilst, if we inform him that the Australian W.I.I.U. is well-known, he ought to be satisfied; at least, should he not be, we are convinced that any sensible person would admit that we are entitled to call ourselves international.

He tells a feeble story of W.I.I.U. officials, during the coal strike, refusing to hand in their notices, and he goes on to say that, had they dared, they would have "black-legged."

We are well aware of the supposed incident of potential "black-legging" he speaks about, but can point out that Watkins was a more likely "scab" than the individual he has in mind—a young lap, newly into the movement, with no more intention of "scabbing" than Watkins has of working for industrial Unionism!

He also asserts that the American W.I.I.U. representative and myself were given the opportunity to take the floor, and that I lie when I state the reverse. The facts of the case are, Comrade Editor, as set forth in our report. The Congress business was arranged in such a way that there was a large amount of routine business to be gone through, and our organisation not being affiliated to the R.T.U.I., we had no moral right to participate in that business, though had we been fond of hearing ourselves talk, we should certainly have applied for the floor.

However, the fact remains, that when we did apply for the floor, on the question of tactics—a question which Watkins admits was important—we were denied the opportunity.

In support of this claim, we can call on the evidence of Comrade J. Clunie, of the British S.L.P., Comrades J. D. Geonke, A. Smilansky and Anna Sponn, of the American S.L.P., Comrade Coum, of the W.I.I.U. of America, and lastly, if he tells the truth, Harry Pollitt, who conveyed my request for the floor to the presidium in person, and when it was denied, conveyed my protest back again with the request that reason be given for the action. Should this not be considered valid proof, we would request anyone, who would like further proof, to write to any of the above comrades, whose addresses we will supply.

There are, of course, a large number of points in our friend's letter which are so puerile, that they are beneath contempt, and it is not worth while taking up space replying to them.

He talks about the American W.I.I.U. delegate being under suspicion. We should like to point out that the baseless charges levelled against our American comrade by the intriguers (apparently admired so much by Watkins) were so weak and stupid that our comrade was honourably released and asked to say nothing about what was called by Losovsky "this unfortunate and regrettable incident." This he agreed to, and asked us to do the same, which we promised to do.

Therefore, in the interests of Russia, and not because we have anything to hide, we are sticking by our promise.

However, it is worthy of note that Watkins's making these allegations *after* the charges levelled against our comrade were proven to be false, a fact which he is bound to be aware of.

Of course, he is careful not to say anything about his friend J. T. Murphy, who was found, while under examination (according to all reports in Moscow), to have been in the pay of Scotland Yard, and censured for it.

No, Comrade Editor, these mushroom "revolutionaries" like to play with phrases, such as "counter-revolutionaries," etc. We should like to point out that we were propagating the principles of Socialism when some of these "under-the-counter-revolutionaries" were beating-revivalist tambourines and others of them living on the backs of the Australian workers.

And we are confident that we will continue to carry on with our work of organising the workers industrially, from the bottom up, long after these pseudo-Socialists are forgotten.

Should this not be sufficient for Mr. Watkins, we can go further, as we did not go to Moscow with our eyes and ears shut, and without keeping our eyes on those whose whole existence is built upon intrigue.

With our best wishes for the success of your valuable paper. On behalf of the W.I.I.U.,

I am,
Yours fraternally,
WILLIAM O. BARR (W.B.).

£1 *a Week Miners.*

W.L.W., of Nantyffylon, writes:

"Men here (hewers) are getting 19s. and 21s. for a full week's work. They are now threatening to strike, because they cannot get the minimum wage."

A Sheffield View.

A. Carford, of Sheffield, writes:

"Coming out of hospital, I heard of Sylvia Pankhurst's expulsion from the Communist Party. Many Sheffield comrades can see that the opportunists have captured the C.P. The I.L.P. opportunists and the reactionary elements of the B.S.P. appear to control the policy, although there is a small revolutionary element in the Party.

"Until a Party is formed in which every member is a revolutionary and all are agreed as to general tactics and every member pledges himself or herself to go to the scaffold if necessary, we need not hope to see it do anything. Ideas can change conditions, just as conditions can change ideas.

"Easter Week in Ireland proved to me that a few determined people can change ideas.

"You can take it from me, that the C.P.G.B. is on the verge of a big split: the sooner it comes the better."

COMMUNISTS TO BECOME CABINET MINISTERS.

Our correspondent of the German Workers' Communist Party (K.A.P.D.) reports that Zinoviev, on behalf of the Third International Executive, has informed the German Communist Party (K.P.D.) that where possible, it is incumbent on Communists to accept Cabinet Minister's positions in Socialist Governments.

The German Communist Party is said to be delighted by this, which they describe as a "rational" decision.

The Scheidemann Social Democrats, and the Independent Socialists of Germany are about to re-unite, and the Parliamentary Communists of Germany are clamouring to be taken back to the Social Democratic fold. Soon the pre-war unity of all Social Democratic parties will be achieved, and the struggle for Parliamentary success will continue as before.

Meanwhile, the revolutionary non-Parliamentary parties will grow in strength and power, and prepare the Soviets.

In this country we shall see the same development: the Parliamentary Communist of King Street, Covent Garden, will merge their identity in the Labour Party. Presently the Communist Workers' Party will arise to gather the forces which shall prepare the Soviets.

Internationally, the Second, the "Second and a Half," and the Third International of Labour Unions will merge with Amsterdam. Outside will stand the Fourth International of Communist Workers' Parties and the revolutionary industrial unionists.

Already, as we reported last week, the German Parliamentary Executive has asked the Moscow Executive to link up with the Second and "Second and a Half" Internationals, and to combine also the Red Trade Union Interational with that of Amsterdam. Undoubtedly these fusions will presently take place. The desire to obtain for Russia Trade Credits and Trade Agreements with the Capitalist Powers is the motive for this casting aside of the original policy of the Third International.

The work of the proletarian revolution will be left to the proletarian forces of the Fourth International.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

GERMANY.

From Our K.A.P.D. Correspondent.

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POSITION.

SEQUEL TO THE KAPP RISING.

The farcical trial of von Jagow, one of the chief perpetrators of the Kapp rising against the "Free and Glorious Ebert Republic," has sufficiently proved which way the treacherous wind of the reformist workers' parties in "enlightened Germany is blowing. Jagow was given but five years' imprisonment in a fortress (which means the enjoyment of all comforts, including, of course, *frequent* leave of absence), and his two fellow-accused were even acquitted.

This farce had to be enacted, so a to impress the great bulk of the sheepish working masses with the "sincerity and determination" of the Republican authorities to punish the vindictive assailant of the "golden freedom" of the "great" German Republic.

Had Jagow been acquitted, the suspicion might have been roused that the intimate and friendly negotiations on the part of Ebert, Bauer, the "distinguished representatives of the German Government at the time, with Kapp, Jagow, Eberhardt and others, during this '*infamous rising* (?!)", had, perhaps, after all, not been quite free of an attempt at intriguing with "enemies and traitors" of the German Republic.

The Social-Democratic President of the German Republic—saddle-master Ebert—intends granting Christmas leave of absence to some of the prisoners in connection with the last March rising, who, of course, are condemned to less than one year's imprisonment. (*Never mind the thousands, arrested in the Communist risings, who are doing penal servitude for 3, 5, 10, 15, years, and even for life!*) This leave of absence to the Kapp-ists may, in some cases, even be extended to a free pardon.

Hundreds of proletarians are suffering long terms of penal servitude, who, in March 1920, hurried to the aid of the Noske Government, and risked their lives in assisting to quell the great Kapp rising!!

THE DEMAND FOR UNITY OF THE SECOND, THE "SECOND AND A HALF," AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONALS.

While the majority Socialists are supporting a Coalition Government, including all the parties as far Right as Stinnes, at which point they draw the line, the Independent Socialists participate in "purely" Socialist Governments like those of Saxony, Thuringia, and Brunswick, which act as henchmen to the largeg capitalists, the KP.D. (Communist Party of Germany), addresses a request to the Communist International of Moscow, which says:

"In view of the international situation, especially of the dangers that threaten the working class on account of the Imperialist rivalries, the crisis in the reparation question, the growing unemployment, the famine in Russia, and its economic pushing aside, the Central Executive of the K.P.D. resolved, on December 21st, to request the Executive of the Communist International to arrange for common action of all international organisations of the working class (Communist International, the Red Trade Union International, the International Trade Union Amalgamation (Amsterdam), the Working Amalgamation of Socialist Parties (Vienna), and the Second International (London). The objects of this combination are, according to the proposal of the K.P.D., to be:—

1.—The international repudiation of all war debts;

2.—The prohibition of armaments;

3.—The preventing of forceful measures on the part of French Imperialism, such as the seizing of the Ruhr territory, starvation of Austria, etc.;

4.—The forcing of Soviet Russia being recognised;

5.—Credits for the relief of the famine and the rebuilding of Soviet Russia;

6.—Internationlly securing the eight-hour' working day.

All comment on this "revolutionary" move would be superfluous, were not the surge of "Communist" reformism and opportunism at the moment rising so rapidly and disastrously.

COMMUNIST REFORMISM.

Being so awfully busy with the "solidifying" of its budget and the passing of its taxation laws, he German bourgeoisie delights to find the K.P.D. as a faithful helper in impressing upon the proletariat that they must work more and longer, that they must even perish, in order to "save the Fatherland"—for the *Entente is* threatening. Madness, indeed, to call upon the proletariat to unite with the bourgeoisie, in order to show Imperialist France the "German clenched fist!!"

The Third International is to awaken the "German spirit"—if it would not be so sad, it would, indeed, be highly amusing!

It depends, of course, entirely upon the Entente, whether the German bourgeoisie, for the purpose of rebuilding a capitalist Russia, grants her credit in one way or another. Perhaps the German workers will soon understand that, "*for the sake of the world revolution*," they are working 15 hours a day for the war debts to the Entente, and five hours extra for the credit to Russia. As the Second International—like the "Second and a Half, and the Amsterdam Internationals—is quite pacifist, it will, of course, like these two, reject any attempt of enforcing the "German clenched fist."

AMERICA v. JAPAN.

We have stated from time to time, that although America and Japan are rivals in the Far East, they might, under certain conditions, unite against Britain, which is also their rival. We have also pointed out that they are always ready to unite for the exploitation of Soviet Russia or China, if their own capitalist interests may be best served thereby.

The comments from a leading article in the well-informed journal, the New York *Freeman*, are of more than passing interest:—

"If one has the will for it, one may perhaps believe that the politicians of Japan have been so naive as to exchange the Anglo-Japanese Alliance for a four-Power agreement that promises nothing more than a certain amount of polite conversation, in case trouble should arise. On the other hand, one may prefer to think that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance will continue to exist, in actuality if not in form, as long as the interests which created it endure; and one may choose to believe also that the new agreement binds the United States to come to the help of Japan in case her insular territory is attacked. In support of this last notion, we lift from Senator Reed's speech on the four-Power treaty two quotations which he has offered for examination, the one in the bright illumination of the other .. The first extract is taken from one of the Grey-Cambon letters which gave substance to the *entente cordiale*. 'I agree," wrote Sir Edward Grey, 'that if either Government had grave reason to expect an unprovoked attack by a third Power, or something that threatened the general peace, it should immediately discuss with the other whether both Governments should act together to prevent aggression and preserve peace, and, if so, what measures they would be prepared to take in common.'

"The second exhibit is drawn from Article II of the new treaty, according to which the signatory Powers agree that if their rights in relation to their insular possessions in the Pacific Ocean are threatened, 'by the aggressive action of any other Power, the high contracting parties shall communicate with one another fully and frankly, in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most effective measures to be taken, jointly and separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation.'

"Of course, some of our friends will say that, in spite of the obvious parallelism of language in the two cases, the position of the United States and Japan in the quadruple fellowship is altogether different from that of Great Britain and France in the triple *entente*, for the reason that no external Power or group of Powers now occupies a place correspondingly to that formerly held by Germany and the Triple Alliance. In rejoinder, we would suggest that, in so far as it is true that the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan have no common enemy and no common objective—in so far as they are rivals in the East—the new treaty has no meaning, and the alignment of Great Britain and Japan against America is as real and as significant as it ever was. Still, when one has said this, one has not exhausted the possibilities of the situation; for one can conceive of circumstances under which statesmanship might dictate the co-operation of a common policy in China and Siberia. Mutual forbearance here, with the vigorous advancement of financial imperialism by our own international bankers, and of territorial seizures by Japan, might eventually develop that amount of opposition which is necessary to give the new treaty any real significance. Thus it seems to us that the treaty either leaves the United States and Japan exactly where they were before, with Great Britain as the natural ally of Japan, or else it stands simply as the outward visible sign of a secret or tacit understanding which will make Japan and the United States partners in the exploitation of China and Siberia. If any of our readers can discover, in the theory and practice of diplomacy, any basis for a less melancholy interpretation of the treaty, we shall be pleased to cut short our speech, and listen for a while."

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By Tom Anderson.

On New Year's night we introduced a new play, "Haw-Milton Palace." This is a pure, working class play, and deals with the renovation of Haw-Milton Palace.

His Grace, the Duke of Haw-Milton, decides to entirely reconstruct the palace, at a cost of nearly £10,000,000, to please her Ladyship, the Duchess, who has taken a fancy to keep a few fleas, bugs, beetles, squirrels, ants, pet monkeys, etc., for fear they should become extinct.

The contract for the job was given to Sir Robert Mac-Kalpin, A.B.C., D.E.F.G., etc.. The manager of Sir Robert is a Mr. Tomass, and his confidential clerk is a Mr. Tilet.

The audience was highly amused at the dialogues between the manager and the clerk. They go over every Labour paper, past and present, and the sallies of Mr. Tomass were very rich, whilst Mr. Tilet in his quaint humorous way, brought down the house when he said: "This paper, sir, the *Communist*, is a new Christian weekly, published by the headquarters of the Salvation Army. Another paper, sir, the *Proletariat* the B.S.I.S.L.P. and the W.I.I.U., that's a Chinese alphabet, sir."

The letters of the foremen applying for the job were amusing; each of the foremen represented a political character: Mr. Climes, Mr. Hilley, Mr. Wully, Mr. Manny, Mr. Browning, and Mr. Thorne.

Mr. Climes (joiner) was very amusing; he said he had been a foreman joiner for 20 years with Dirty Davy and Sons, Limited, and he was "it." He did not care for any Trade Union; he was a foreman, to-day, to-morrow, and the day after, and a foreman he would live and die."

Mr. Hilley (mason) said: "There had never been a strike of masons in Scotland, as the officials would not allow it."

Mr. Wully (plasterer) said: "He was a member of the P.L.I. at the request of Mr. MackMoses."

The audience yelled at this.

He also added that he was a firm believer in the New Testament, and a Nation could only be saved by "being born again" and "washed in the blood of the lamb."

This statement brought forth a great round of applause, showing you that we are still very religious, we people of the North. Mr. Manny (painter) said that painters did not trouble themselves about Trade Union matters, it was the jobs they had worked at, the "slaveys" they had "walked out" and the feeds they had, was all their concern; he also added that they were very particular about having white jackets, aprons and overalls.

Mr. Browningg (plumber) said that plumbers were social animals, and that a funny story would keep a group of plumbers contented for their natural lives, etc. (Roars of laughter.)

Mr. Thornie (bricklayer) brought down the house with his £30 per week for writing articles on the Labour question; he said these articles were "the best dope ever invented," etc.

Bridget and Mollie, the two maids of the palace, were funny. Mollie says to Bridget: "Will they have drink at the 'pay-off'"? Bridget answers: "Surely to Christ you are no silly: how could they have a 'pay-off' without drink?" (Scots style).

The audience nearly fell off their seats at this, and it was on a Sunday night (foreign papers please copy).

John S. Clarke said he was a "dud" reader, and everybody laughed; but when he was encored, he said: "Comrade Chairman, I will play you a tune on the piano." "Hear, hear," came from every part of the hall, and with that he took a mouth harmonium out of his pocket and gave them a selection, and they wanted more.

Tommy Clarke made a peech on "Fat," and every one was glued to their seats. He is wonderful, is Tommy! The "Can Boy," Willie Gallacher, sang "If I Were a Soldier." You ought to have been there! Everybody sang the chorus. Willie Paul sang two songs, "Are You Working?" and "Will You, My Brother, Come?" Our Willie Paul is a lady, and that tickled a few. Guy Aldred gave us a reading, and also a song, "You'll Get Rest in the Sky," the original Guy Aldred, of course, is in prison, but we are not forgetting him. Jack V. Leckie gave us "The Ten Proletarian Maxims," in dead earnest, quietness reigning supreme. Archie Hendry was the chairman of the "pay-off," and he is "hot stuff." Paddy Quinlan sang two songs in his usual Paddy way, etc., etc. It was all great! And if you in Glasgow want to hear it, come to Bakunin House on February 12th, at 6.30p.m. Some day we play in London. That will be a great day! a great day!

Note.—The sketches played in the Proletarian Schools may be obtained from the *Workers' Dreadnought* office. See list on back page.

IRISH MINERS TAKE MINES.

The Dublin *Voice of Labour* says:—

"All power to the Soviets! The miners here [Ballingarry], whose patience is exhausted waiting for the much-lauded mining company to come to their relief, have bravely taken into their own hands the working of some of the local mines. All power to them! They are the first of the boys of sweet Slievardagh to do the proper thing—namely, to keep themselves and their wives and children from dying with hunger and want when the way and the means were at their hands. Those fine Irishmen are miners who can work, and are willing to work, still work is denied them. What are they to do? If the bloated capitalist were to answer, he would tell them, 'Wait until the Free State would function, and then there will be plenty of work for all in the mines and factories.' But the bloated, idle parasite, while giving such an answer, would not feel any want of anything himself. Go on, brave workers of the Commons and Ballingarry, work the mine. What the Lord put at your feet for your benefit, stoop down and pick it up. Allow no enemy to stop you without knowing the reason why?"

IF WALES WENT RED.

South Wales Labour representatives on local governing bodies recently held a conference and threatened a refusal to continue administration; a threat which they are able to make, because, in many cases, they hold the majority of seats. The threat has gone up in the air, like a soap bubble, and apparently has left no more behind it.

The other day the Merthyr Borough Council Watch Committee had a long discussion regarding the granting of 'bus licences to ply for hire on the public roads. The Merthyr Councillors appear to have something of the martinet about them: they are particular as to adherence to time tables; they object to the 'bus H.B. 1728 being substituted for 'bus H.B. 698, "owing to an alleged break-down"; in short, they insist that 'bus proprietors must "keep faith with the Council. Moreover, they complain that there are 'daily complaints from one 'bus proprietor regarding another, and pandemonium on the public stands." Such behaviour is shocking to the city fathers. They have refused several 'bus licences and limited others to the carrying of workmen.

The Ministry of Transport has protested: it is sorry for the little 'bus proprietors, in spite of their deficiencies, for the public obliged to walk, and, perhaps, for the mineowners, whose workmen may arrive after time. The Town Clerk of the democratic Council of Merthyr has, however, replied that the Ministry of Transport has no jurisdiction in this matter.

A trivial little controversy: how different things might be if South Wales were really Red!

Suppose Merthyr should refuse all the 'bus licenses and run its own 'buses. Probably it intends to do that presently, since it is grantingonly short licences. Suppose, however, all the South Wales Councils should terminate all the 'bus and tram licenses, and run its own services.

"That could not legally be done.'

Of course not; but if South Wales were Red, it would not hesitate on that account. It would not stop at cutting out private enterprise in 'buses and trams. It would make itself responsible for supplying the people with clothes and food. It would make itself responsible for the working of the mines and for the railway transport within its borders. It would summon the workers in each industrial concern and on every farm, to form their Soviets. It would call on all the Soviets, which would thus arise, to link themselves up in a net-work covering the area. It would halt the trains arriving at the Welsh borders, and call on the workers engaged on those trains to show solidarity with Red Wales. It would do the same with the sailors on the ships touching the coast of Wales.

It would issue an appeal to the workers throughout the British Isles to follow suit.

Wales is not Red; but if it were it would hoist the Red Flag and establish the Soviets within its borders.

"Red Wales would be crushed; its food supply would be cut off; the miners would starve in their valleys; the Government troops would mow them down; cannon and aeroplanes would bring destruction upon their villages."

Red Wales might be crushed as thoroughly as was the Irish Republic of Easter Week, 1916; but it would light a fire in Britain that could never be extinguished.

South Wales is not yet Red; the work of making, training and organising the Reds has not yet been done. The working class of South Wales has produced a plentiful crop of orators, tub-thumpers, and spell-binders, candidates for official positions, Trade Union officials and Labour representatives, and a rank and file that can brag about what South Wales can do; but the work of making and training the revolutionaries of action has not been done.

South Wales proletarians have talked a great deal about organisation; but they have not yet begun to build a revolutionary organisation, or even to think with serious intent in terms of action.

The German miners have their revolutionary Workers' Union linked up with the workers in other industries, and their revolutionary Communist Workers' Party. They have fought for possession of the mines and have been victorious in the fight, so that, though they failed, because the rest of Germany was unready, they could not be disarmed, and were amnestied against punishment.

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